1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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from ice, must be an obstacle to the hunter, when in pursuit of a wounded deer, bear, or other animal, as is often the case. Nor has he then leisure to think on the state of his body, and to consider whether his blood is not too much heated to plunge without danger into the cold stream, since the game he is in pursuit of is running off from him with full speed. Many dangerous accidents often befal him, both as a hunter and a warrior, (for he is both) and are seldom unattended with painful consequences, such as rheumatism or consumption of the lungs, for which the sweat-house, on which they so much depend, and to which they often resort for relief, especially after a fatiguing hunt or warlike excursion, is not always a sure preservative or an effectual remedy.

The husband generally leaves the skins and peltry which he has procured by hunting to the care of his wife, who sells or barters them away to the best advantage for such necessaries as are wanted in the family; not forgetting to supply her husband with what he stands in need of, who, when he receives it from her hands never fails to return her thanks in the kindest manner. If debts had been previously contracted, either by the woman, or by her and her husband jointly, or if a horse should be wanted, as much is laid aside as will be sufficient to pay the debts or purchase the horse.

When a woman has got in her harvest of corn, it is considered as belonging to her husband, who, if he has suffering friends, may give them as much of it as he pleases, without consulting his wife, or being afraid of her being displeased; for she is in the firm belief that he is able to procure that article whenever it is wanted. The sugar which she makes out of the maple tree is also considered as belonging to her husband.

There is nothing in an Indian's house or family without its particular owner. Every individual knows what belongs to him, from the horse or cow down to the dog, cat, kitten and little chicken.

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cat, kitten and little chicken. Parents make presents to their children, and they in return to their parents. A father will sometimes ask his wife or one of his children for the loan of his horse to go out a hunting. For a litter of kittens or brood of chickens, there are often as many different owners as there are individual animals. In purchasing a hen with her brood, one frequently has to deal for it with several children. Thus, while the principle of community of goods prevails in the state, the rights of property are acknowledged among the members of a family. This is attended with a very good effect; for by this means every living creature is properly taken care of. It also promotes liberality among the children, which becomes a habit with them by the time they are grown up.

An Indian loves to see his wife well clothed, which is a proof that he is fond of her; at least, it is so considered. While his wife is bartering the skins and peltry he has taken in his hunt, he will seat himself at some distance, to observe her choice, and how she and the traders agree together. When she finds an article which she thinks will suit or please her husband, she never fails to purchase it for him; she tells him that it is *her* choice, and he is never dissatisfied.

The more a man does for his wife, the more he is esteemed, particularly by the women, who will say: "This man surely loves his wife." Some men at their leisure hours make bowls and ladles, which, when finished, are at their wives' disposal.

If a sick or pregnant woman longs for any article of food, be it what it may, and however difficult to be procured, the husband immediately sets out to endeavour to get it. I have known a man to go forty or fifty miles for a mess of cranberries to satisfy his wife's longing. In the year 1762, I was witness to a remarkable instance of the disposition of Indians to indulge their wives. There was a famine in the land, and a sick Indian woman ex-

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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character. Hunting was the primary occupation of men and gardening that of women. Although game did not form a preponderant part of the diet, it was extremely important in that wild animals provided clothing and other nonedible essentials.[91] The game which a man brought home was the property of his wife to do with as she saw fit; conversely, the woman's harvest of corn was "considered as belonging to the husband, who, if he has suffering friends, may give them as much of it as he pleases. . . ."[92] Men also built the dwellings, obtained or made the necessary axes, hoes, canoes, dishes, bowls, and other artifacts.[93] They were also supposed to keep in a constant state of readiness in case of attack, and they appear to have helped clear the land for gardens.[94] The women, in addition to planting, cultivating, harvesting, and storing the garden produce, bore the burden of all the household tasks. They cut and carried the firewood and made the carrying straps and bags, as well as the family clothing, and tanned the skins.[95] The women also carried the household goods when a family was on the trail.[96] De Vries said: ". . .the women are compelled to work like asses, and when they travel, to carry the baggage on their backs, together with their infants. . . ."[97] Mary Jemison said, however:

> Our labor was not severe; and that of one year was exactly similar, in almost every respect, to that of all others, without that endless variety [of white people]. Notwithstanding the Indian women have all the fuel and bread to procure, and the cooking to perform, their task is probably not harder than that of white women. . . .[98]

It should also be added that many of the tasks of the women were accomplished by a co-operative group of relatives, who lightened their labors with feasts and gaiety; the men, on the other hand, were frequently alone when hunting.[99] There were a few individuals who were part-time specialists; these were the wampum makers, other artisans, shamans, and sachems. All of these individuals took part in the basic subsistence activities of their sex.

Annual Round

Important to the understanding of the subsistence activities and the general economy of the Delawares is a discussion of the subsistence cycle or annual round. A. F. C. Wallace has recently investigated this phase of their culture and his conclusions correspond closely to mine, though based on slightly different evidence.[100] In the spring and summer

[91] Pastorius, 1912, p. 385; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 302; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 155-57.

[92] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 158; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 16, agrees on this point.

[93] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 302; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 155-57.

[94] Denton, 1845, p. 6; O. A., M. B.

[95] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 302; Brickell, 1842, p. 47; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 16; M. B.

[96] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 156; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 24.

[97] De Vries, 1909, p. 218.

[98] Jemison, 1918, pp. 46-47; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 158, echoed this point of view.

[99] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 158; M. B., J. T., O. A.

[100] Wallace, 1947, pp. 18-18.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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the Indians congregated in their small villages, gardening and, if near the sea or a river, fishing. After they had planted the gardens they regularly visited the Europeans.[101] Following the harvest, and at least in later times after the socioreligious ceremonies climaxed by the Big House Ceremony, the villages were deserted as individual families scattered to their hunting territories. The first fall hunt was for deer and seems to have been communal, perhaps prior to the dispersal to individual hunting grounds. After the deer hunt bears and other game were sought by individual hunters.[102] The men hunted until February or March, depending upon the season. In later times the individual families then went to their sugaring grounds; there the women collected and boiled down the maple sap while the men continued to hunt.[103] In spring they again moved to their villages and planted their crops. Wallace has pointed out, however, that there were some exceptions to the hunting-gardening cycle;[104] different sorts of adjustment by different groups were necessary in the relatively diverse habitat of the Delawares.

Property Concept and Hunting Territories

The concept of private ownership of personal equipment, tools, and the like was well developed among the Delawares. Heckewelder, who had a good grasp of this subject, said:

> There is nothing in an Indian's house or family without its particular owner. Every individual knows what belongs to him, from the horse or cow down to the dog, cat, kitten and little chicken. Parents make presents to their children, and they in return to their parents. A father will sometimes ask his wife or one of his children for the loan of his horse to go out a hunting. For a litter of kittens or brood of chickens, there are often as many different owners as there are individual animals. In purchasing a hen with her brood, one frequently has to deal for it with several children. Thus, while the principle of community of goods prevails in the state, the rights of property are acknowledged among the members of a family. This is attended with a very good effect; for by this means every living creature is properly taken care of. It also promotes liberality among the children, which becomes a habit with them by the time they are grown up.[105]

Although most of Heckewelder's examples were items introduced by Europeans, there seems to be no reason why this sort of property concept was not an early one. This type of ownership is akin to our own concept of property; the "ownership" of other kinds of property was quite distinct from our own.

W. C. MacLeod,[106] utilizing Speck's[107] investigation, has presented a well-documented case for the family ownership of hunting grounds. The purpose of his paper was obviously to support the contentions of

[101] Denton, 1845, p. 7; Holm, 1834, p. 123; De Rasieres, 1909, pp. 107-8.
[102] De Vries, 1909, p. 222; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 12-13; Loskiel, 1794, p. 78.
[103] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 13.
[104] Wallace, 1947, p. 17.
[105] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 188-89.
[106] MacLeod, 1932, pp. 448-63.
[107] Speck, 1915, pp. 289-305.

[455 (B)]

614 have expressed themselves in favor of the
622 person nominated. If they disagree, I have
623 not ascertained how it is adjusted. After the person is agreed upon, then all the chiefs meet in council and perform the ceremony of investing him with his office.

622 The war chiefs are selected and made such by the Head Chief without consulting the people, but not so with the Head Chief.

241 The Delawares are very well advanced as agriculturalists. When Mr. Pratt came
342 among them 12 years ago, as he informs me,
177 they were living in bark houses. Now many of them are living in frame houses two stories and 2½ stories high, some with a veranda in front the whole length, and they have good barns and outbuildings. Some of
231 them have herds of cattle from 25 to 100
422 and have from 5 to 20 swine, sheep, wagons, and all kinds of farming implements. Their future prospects are certainly very flattering if they push on as they have here. Their
648 women are interfered with a good deal by
563 the whites, and they are quick to marry
557 white husbands, as they seem to regard that as advancing. It would be so were their husbands respectable.

657 With their large annuity of $50,000 per annum, the best timbered lands in the state, and sufficient of them to give them all large farms, there is no reason why they should not become both agriculturalists and respectable citizens of the state. When they
000 become wealthy farmers as some of them now are, their children will intermarry respectably with our white people, and thus the children will become respectable and, if educated, in the second and third generations will become beautiful and attractive. This is to be the end of the Indian absorption of a small portion, which will improve and toughen our race, and the residue run out or forced into the regions of the mountains.